

The Diocese of St Andrews at the Reformation

CHARLES H. HAWS, PH.D.

St Andrews, the largest diocese in Scotland, was in the mainstream of the reformed movement from the time of the burning of Patrick Hamilton, who was titular abbot of Fearn and sometime student at Paris and St Andrews, in 1528 to the death of Knox in 1572.² During these forty-four years, the men and the towns, especially the seaports, of this diocese were largely responsible for the importation of the reformed doctrines, their subsequent development and final success. This success was not always assured, however, and after the death of Cardinal David Beaton, archbishop of St Andrews, in 1546, Mr John Hamilton, who was translated from the see of Dunkeld to the vacant archbishopric in 1549, initiated a policy of reform from within by calling a provincial council to deal with the multitude of clerical irregularities ranging from concubinage to unbecoming dress.³ This council and those of 1552 and 1559 passed statutes touching on all the problems of the old established church and these efforts were supplemented on the liturgical side by the archbishop's *Catechism* and in the organisation and endowment of St Mary's College at St Andrews which was established for the instruction of the people and for "defending and confirming the Catholic Faith" against the reformed doctrines.⁴ Apparently the archbishop was trying to effect a limited degree of reformation to appease the Protestants while at the same time restoring discipline, strengthening the oversight of the parishes as well as educating the laity and the clerics, in hope of revitalising the old order. His failure to attempt something along the lines of financial reform in "the top-heavy superstructure of the church" made his other efforts at reform superfluous because the origin of many of the difficulties of the pre-Reformation church stemmed from misappropriation of the wealth of the church.⁵ In view of this failure, it is not surprising that this area continued to be the centre of reformed opinion in Scotland. Wishart, Knox, Erskine and numerous other leaders of the Reformation had their origins in

¹ The generous grants provided by Old Dominion University Research Foundation, Glasgow University and American Philosophical Society have made the completion of this study possible.

² W. C. Dickinson (ed.), *John Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1949), i, xxiv, lxvii, 11-14; ii, 417.

³ J. Dowden, *Bishops of Scotland* (Glasgow, 1912), 41-4; G. Donaldson, *The Scottish Reformation* (Cambridge, 1960), 33-7.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 33, 35; D. Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses, Scotland* (London, 1957), 189.

⁵ Donaldson, *Scottish Reformation*, 36.

this diocese. Edinburgh, St Andrews, Dundee and Perth were the centres where violence and destruction went hand in hand with persecution and revolution.⁶ Although Edinburgh, the political and religious nerve centre in 1559-61, had the Reformation parliament and many of the subsequent General Assemblies as well as Knox as minister, St Andrews in Fife, with its university and priory, supplied the reformed church with qualified men from 1560 onwards and many of these men served as ministers within and outwith this diocese.⁷ Dundee in Angus and Perth in Gowrie had the first reformed kirk⁸ and the first major reformed uprising⁹ respectively, and these areas coupled with Mearns and Forthric provided the "Army of the Congregation" with a large proportion of its members. In these districts the Reformation, moreover, appeared to be a popular movement with the support of a large cross-section of the community. In fact, "the greatest fervency appeared in the Mearns and Angus, and Kyle and Fyfe or Lothian; but chiefly the faithfull in Dundie exceeded all the rest in zeall and boldness, preferring the true religion to all things temporall. But in Edenburgh their meeting was but in privat houses".¹⁰

The reasons for this fervency which developed into a popular movement are diverse. In the first place, there was a steady flow of reformed literature from the continent which entered through the seaport areas and was Lutheran in content in the 1530s and 1540s and this was to be later supplemented by Calvinist writings.¹¹ In the second place, the diocese of St Andrews had the bulk of the reformed leaders to whom must be added a substantial number of lesser beneficed clergy and sometime students and graduates of St Andrews University who were sympathetic to reforming ideals. Thirdly, it is evident from the signatories of the numerous "Bands" that a group of influential nobles and lairds from various areas within the diocese were fully supporting the reformed movement by corporate action in the high political circles and by individual action within their own local spheres of influence.¹² Finally, the diocese had more than its share of religious houses which undoubtedly provided the would-be critic of the old order with many examples of all that was plaguing

⁶ Knox in his *History* gives detailed accounts of the pre- and post-Reformation activity at all these centres (Dickinson, *Knox*, ii, 393, 394-8, 473-4, 482-4).

⁷ *Acts and Proceedings of the General Assemblies of the Kirk of Scotland (1560-1618)*, 3 vols., (Bannatyne Club, 1839-45), i, xlvi-xlviii; D. McRoberts (ed.) *Essays on the Scottish Reformation* (Glasgow, 1962), 81-3.

⁸ H. Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ*, 9 vols. (Edinburgh, 1915-61), v, 315; *Acts and Proceedings of the General Assemblies*, i, 55.

⁹ Dickinson, *Knox*, i, 162-3.

¹⁰ *Wodrow Society Miscellany*, i, 54.

¹¹ McRoberts, *Essays*, 418-9; Donaldson, *Scottish Reformation*, 29, 135.

¹² Dickinson, *Knox*, i, 136-7, 178-9, 206-7, 314-6; ii, 207.

them in this period and these critics would be more numerous in the deaneries of Mearns, Angus, Gowrie, Forthric, Fife and Lothian, areas which were densely populated by sixteenth century standards.

To discover how this popular movement towards reform affected the clergy in the diocese at the Reformation, an analysis must be made of the secular clergy of the 22 institutions and 259 churches contained therein. Of these 259 churches, 35 were independent parsonages and remained unappropriated and the remaining churches were all appropriated to the various religious houses. Thus, 86 per cent of the churches were appropriated in the diocese of St Andrews.¹³

An assessment of the total number of secular clergy within the diocese is made somewhat simpler insofar that the cathedral clergy with the exception of the two archdeacons of St Andrews and Lothian were regulars. With the collegiate churches the problem is far from simple, however, but while further research must be carried out on the 21 collegiate churches in the diocese, some estimate of the total number of possible canons and chaplains can be given for the period directly before the Reformation. In total, there were no less than 150 canons including the provosts, 49 chaplains plus numerous others and at least 24 choristers and seven clerks. A number of these were of course pluralists, some of whom held prebends in more than one collegiate church. Where in addition to these pluralities, a parish church was also held, allowance can be made in estimating the total number of parochial clergy, but a fuller analysis of pluralism within collegiate churches alone would almost certainly reduce this total number of canons.¹⁴

To the collegiate churches proper must be added the academic secular colleges in St Andrews which were not fully collegiate in their constitutions. According to the original foundation charter, St Leonards was to have a master and principal director, four chaplains, 20 scholars in arts and six in theology. St Mary's College was to have a provost, a licentiate and a bachelor in theology, a canonist, eight priests, five regents in arts and 16 poor students in arts.¹⁵ Setting aside the scholars and students, 23 further secular clergy can thus be added for a final total which at 255 secular clergy is extremely conservative, and if the numerous unidentified chaplains of the collegiate churches were to be added to this total, the number of secular clergy associated with non-parochial institutions within the diocese, even allowing for pluralism, cannot have fallen short of 300.

¹³ I. B. Cowan, *The Parishes of Medieval Scotland* (Scottish Record Society, 1967), provided the material for the formulation of these figures on the appropriation of churches within the diocese of St Andrews.

¹⁴ Easson, *Religious Houses*, 175-86.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 189.

The number of parochial clergy cannot have fallen short of this total as an examination of the parochial situation demonstrates. Of the 35 independent parsonages, at least 11 were held by pluralists.¹⁶ Subtracting the known pluralists who were parsons and should be counted elsewhere, the remaining 24 parsons must be taken into account, but these parsons were normally absentee titulars who left their parochial work for their vicars or curates. Thus in all 35 churches, curates or chaplains should be added to the total number of clergy. This was also the case in the churches where the parsonage revenues were appropriated to religious houses. If to the total number of appropriated churches are added the 35 independent parsonages where service in practice did not differ from that of the appropriated churches, in theory a parochial survey should yield 259 vicars and curates. Moreover, although some vicarages were held in plurality, in these as in others held by titular vicars the task of service was delegated to vicar pensioners and curates, and so in practice there must have remained some 259 parochial incumbents.

To establish fully the number of parochial clergy, however, a detailed survey of the diocese must be made deanery by deanery. In the deanery of Fife, there were 30 churches¹⁷ with 30 clergy.¹⁸ Sir Robert Melville (Dunbog) was evidently titular vicar of Newburn and, while it is not known whether Melville served either of his churches, it may be assumed that he had curates performing the parochial duties. The addition of Melville, the titular vicar, to the total number of clergy in the deanery is, however, counter-balanced by "dene" James Herrat, monk of Balmerino, who apparently held the vicarage of Balmerino and served the cure of souls there. Moreover, although John Forman, vicar of Anstruther and Kilrenny, possibly served both of his churches before and after the Reformation, it is likely that Mr Robert Winram, vicar of Dairsie and Portmoak, was a titular and did not actually serve his vicarages but delegated the task to curates. Hence, even though both Forman and Winram were pluralists, there were possibly still only four clergy associated with the four vicarages. Mr Andrew Oliphant (Carnbee) was also vicar of Kirkcudbright-Innertig in Carrick and should be accounted in Glasgow diocese, and Mr Thomas Scott (Collessie) was also vicar of Cramond in the diocese of Dunkeld, south of Forth and should be accounted for there, but even though both were evidently titular vicars, some mode of service was evidently provided, and the total

¹⁶ This figure is drawn from the author's unpublished Glasgow Ph.D. thesis on the Scottish Clergy at the Reformation. This is the source for all such figures used throughout this paper.

¹⁷ Newburgh was a chapel dedicated to St Katherine within the parish of Abdie and was served by a monk of Lindores (Cowan, *Parishes*, 156).

¹⁸ The evidence relative to these clergy and the parishes which they served in the pre-Reformation period will be found in C. Haws, *Scottish Parish Clergy, 1540-1574* (Scottish Record Society, 1972).

number of parochial clergy remains constant. Mr John Row, vicar of Terregles and Twynholm, was vicar of Kennoway and held the vicarage of Fowlis-Easter in conjunction with Andrew Row, possibly a canon of Cambuskenneth. Kennoway was served by a curate but this additional cleric is counterbalanced by the fact that Abdie was served by a monk from Lindores. Moreover, although St Andrews Holy Trinity had a titular vicar, Adam Heriot, canon of St Andrews, and also a curate, while Crail likewise had a titular vicar, Mr Patrick Myretown, treasurer of Aberdeen and a vicar pensioner nevertheless, Heriot has been accounted as a canon and Myretown should be accredited to the diocese of Aberdeen and thus only two further parochial incumbents can be accredited to this deanery, one as a regular and the other as a secular canon.

In the deanery of Forthric, there were 25 churches with 23 clergy. An additional cleric is found at Markinch for David Myretown was possibly only titular vicar of Markinch when Alexander Sibbald was curate in 1557; this addition is more than offset, however, by the fact that Kinghorn-Easter, Carnock and Clackmannan were all possibly served by canons from Holyrood, Scotlandwell and Cambuskenneth respectively, and as these three canons will already have been accounted for as regular clergy the number of secular clergy must be correspondingly reduced. Elsewhere, similar factors balance one another out. Although Mr William Lumsden, monk of Dunfermline, was vicar of Dunfermline and parson of Cleish and evidently both titular vicar and parson, a curate and vicar respectively apparently serving the cure of souls, two churches share only two accountable incumbents since Lumsden has been counted as a regular. Moreover, while Sir James Mowss was vicar pensioner of Kinross and Orwell and may have served both churches, Mr James Mowtray was only titular vicar of Kirkcaldy and a curate served the church. Pluralists likewise fail to raise the total number of clergy, for Adam Kinghorn (Kinglassie) and Mr George Clapperton (Wemyss), provost of Trinity collegiate church, were vicar of Linton in Peebles and parson of Kirkinner respectively and should be accredited to the dioceses of Glasgow and Galloway.

In the deanery of Gowrie there were 21 churches¹⁹ with approximately 16 clergymen. Mr John Moncrieff was vicar pensioner of Dunbarney with its pendicles of Pottie and Moncrieff and apparently served the mother church and the pendicles before the Reformation. This pluralism is counterbalanced, however, as Sir Mark Jameson, vicar of Currie, was only titular vicar of Kilspindie with a curate evidently performing the parochial duties and Mr David Henderson, possibly vicar of Preston in 1549, was likewise titular vicar of Rossie in 1550 when he received a licence to pass to France, a curate evidently serving

¹⁹ Kinnaird was only a chapel of Inchtute and has not been counted.

the cure. Elsewhere in this deanery, regulars possibly served at Scone, Cambusmichael, Kinfauns, Fowlis-Easter and Blairgowrie and there are evidently no secular clergy to be accounted for within these parishes, and although Mr George Cook and Mr Arthur Telfer were titular vicars of Perth and Inchturre respectively they have been accounted as canons of Dunkeld and Aberdeen cathedrals and therefore do not add to the total number of secular clergy.

In the deanery of Mearns, there were 14 churches²⁰ with as many as 15 clergy. Sir William Austeane, titular vicar of Caterline in the diocese of Brechin, was also vicar of Kinneff but with a curate evidently serving the cure of souls there. Mr John Wardlaw (Garvock), Mr John Davidson (Nigg) and Mr James Wilkie (Ecclesgreig), although apparently pluralists and titular vicars and who should be accounted for elsewhere, must have had curates serving the churches. Taking into consideration that the remaining churches in the deanery were served by either vicars or curates, but with the addition of Sir William Austeane, the total number of clergy equals 15.

In the deanery of Angus there were 41 churches²¹ with a possible 43 clergy. The additional two clergy are accounted for by the fact that Sir David Brown was titular vicar of Edzell with a curate doing the parochial work, while Mr Edmond Hay was apparently titular vicar of Errol, also delegating the services of his church to a curate. Elsewhere, while William Hepburn, canon-vicar of Logie-Dundee, Liff and Invergowrie, has already been accounted for as a regular, John Elder was maintained as curate at these three churches. Mr James Rolland, canon of collegiate church of St Mary on the Rock has also already been accounted for, but while he was also vicar of Glamis and chaplain of Clova he may have served both by the services of a curate, while Sir George Strathauchin and Sir James Leprevik were likewise apparently titular vicars as well as pluralists and had curates serving their churches of Kinnettles and Arbirlot respectively. Mr William Gardin, vicar of Kirkbuddo in Brechin and accredited to that diocese, was titular vicar of Aberlemno but he too had a curate, Sir George Lyell, actually serving the church and thus the actual number of clergy associated with each church in the deanery, with the exception of Errol-Edzell, remained constant.

In the deanery of Linlithgow there were as many as 45 churches²² including the pendicles of Lasswade and Kirkton, with at least 46 clergymen. Among additional clergy who appear are

²⁰ Inverbervie was only a chapel of Kinneff and has not been counted.

²¹ Clova was only a chapel of Glamis and has not been counted. Forfar, although only a chapel within the parish of Restennet, has been counted as a parish appropriated to that priory. Pert was a post-Reformation church.

²² Leith was a post-Reformation church and has not been counted in this total.

Sir Thomas Dickson, vicar of Torphichen; Sir Andrew Hagy, vicar of Merton, Kincardine in Menteith and Falkirk; Mr Alexander Chalmers, vicar of Liberton; Sir Patrick French, vicar of Linlithgow in 1559, styled "pretendit vicar" in 1574 and still vicar in 1588; Mr Alexander Hamilton, vicar of Carriden; Sir John Johnston, vicar of Kinneil; and Sir William Henderson, vicar of Calder-Clere, all of whom were possibly titular vicars with vicar pensioners and curates doing the parochial work and thus two clergy may be accounted for at each church, giving a total of 12 clergy for the six churches. Nevertheless, Cambuskenneth was served by James Dalmahoy, canon of Cambuskenneth, Corstorphine apparently by a canon of Holyrood, and Stirling-Chapel Royal by a canon of that institution, and so reduce the number of parochial clergy within the deanery. A further reduction in numbers is brought about by the fact that a vicar pensioner apparently served both Kirkton and its pendicle of Larbert, while one curate, John Wilson (Glencorse), may have performed the parochial duties for Lasswade and its other pendicles of Roslin and Dalkeith. If this assumption is correct, then Sir John Hastie (Dalkeith) and John Manderson (Lasswade) must be counted as titular vicars at the Reformation, making a total of four clergy associated with these six churches. The total number of clergy is, moreover, unaffected by Sir Mark Jameson, vicar of Currie; Mr John Laing, vicar of Bathgate; Sir William McDowell, vicar of Dalmeny; Sir Alexander Forrest, vicar of Livingstone; and Laurence Tod, vicar pensioner of St Giles, all of whom were titular vicars and in some cases pluralists, who have been accredited to their first living.

In the deanery of Haddington/Lothian there were 40 churches²³ with at least 37 clergy, for while Mr Alexander Wood, vicar of Largo, was titular vicar of North Berwick with a curate performing the parochial duties, Gullane, Aldhame, Pencaitland, Newbattle and Tranent were possibly held and served by regulars, thus reducing the number of secular clergy within the deanery. Nevertheless, Stephen Moffat who was canon-vicar at Tranent was only styled "pretendit" vicar in 1574, and an additional member of the secular clergy, Mr John Rae, was vicar there after 1544 and before July 1574. Mr Alexander Crichton, vicar of Innerwick, and Sir John Greenlaw, vicar of Keith Hundebay, have been accounted for as canons of Dunkeld Cathedral and the collegiate church of St Salvator respectively; but as it is likely that curates served their churches, the plurality of clergy in these parishes does not affect the total.

In the deanery of Merse there were 43 churches, including the pendicles of Coldingham and Mordington, with approximately 42 clergymen. This reduction in numbers is partially explained

²³ Pitcox was a chapel within the parish of Dunbar which became a post-Reformation church and has not been counted in this total.

by the fact that Sir John Flint was vicar pensioner of Ayton, a pendicle of Coldingham, and possibly served the mother church also, while a vicar pensioner evidently served Mordington and its pendicle of Longformacus. Moreover, although Sir Thomas Gotherall (Goddrell), vicar of Smailholm and Stow, in addition to being possibly parson of Morham, was apparently titular vicar and parson, assigning curates to do the parochial work, his presence is numerically counterbalanced by the fact that Lamber-ton was possibly served by a regular. An additional clergyman does appear, however, in the person of Sir James Young, vicar of Fishwick, who was possibly also vicar of Aldcambus and may have had curates serving both his churches.

Taking all eight deaneries in the diocese, the sum total of parochial clergy appears to be approximately 276 after all the above considerations. This sum when added to the estimated number of clergymen in the religious institutions, produces a total of about 531 secular clergy in the diocese of St Andrews. This figure may be considered only as a basic minimum because it does not take into account the massive number of unbeneficed chaplains who served at the large parish churches of Linlithgow, Dundee, Perth and St Andrews as well as at altars in private homes and elsewhere.

If this number is used as the basic minimum, then it is apparent that the majority of the pre-Reformation secular clergy did not take an active part in the reformed church for their names fail to appear on the known lists of reformed clergy. Pre-eminent amongst those who failed to conform was the arch-bishop, John Hamilton, who, having failed to halt the Reformation movement, remained a conservative. If, at any time, he had contemplated service in the reformed kirk, he was more than likely discouraged by the leaders of the reforming party.²⁴ In 1571 he was hanged by the Protestant leaders not specifically for his conservatism, but because of his political affiliation with Queen Mary.²⁵ His influence within the diocese of St Andrews with regard to the conservative element is hard to assess; and if the canons of the priory who constituted the cathedral chapter and the students of the university, a body which was under his direct influence, both contributed much in the way of personnel and idealism to the reformed church,²⁶ then a closer analysis of the clergy of the diocese — especially of those holding benefices — shows a reluctance on the part of the clergy to accept the new kirk. In fact, although the majority of the beneficed clergy paid lip service to the new faith, they fail to appear on the rolls of the reformed church. The large number of pluralists who remained

²⁴ Dickinson, *Knox*, i, 335; ii, 195-8; Donaldson, *Scottish Reformation*, 58.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 160.

²⁶ Dickinson, *Knox*, i, 15.

aloof from the reformed church possibly did so because their assets provided a substantial income without participating in the arduous task of parochial work.²⁷ Even after the Act of Conformity in 1573 many evidently accepted the stipulations of the Act for the amount of determined recusancy was limited; in fact, it resulted in only a small number of deprivations.²⁸ Mr David Methven, vicar of Forgan and Lathrisk;²⁹ Mr David Haliburton, vicar of Kingoldrum and provost of the collegiate church of Methven which included the parsonage and vicarage of Methven and the parsonage of Auldbar;³⁰ Mr James Brown, parson of Kirknewton;³¹ Sir Patrick French, "pretendit" vicar of Linlithgow;³² Sir George Maxwell, canon of Trinity collegiate church and one of the prebendaries of Ormiston;³³ and Stephen Moffat, "pretendit" vicar of Tranent, were all deprived for non-conformity.³⁴

Although the majority of the secular clergy failed to join the ranks of the reformed clergy and only a few of the remaining pre-Reformation clergy were deprived in 1573-4, a number, possibly for a variety of religious, economic and political reasons, took positions in the new kirk. Among these were certain canons of the collegiate churches within the diocese of St Andrews. In the deanery of Fife, Mr David Guild, parson of Dunino and later minister there in 1567,³⁵ and Mr William Ramsay, possibly parson of Kemback and minister of Kilmany in 1565,³⁶ were former canons of the collegiate church of St Salvator's. In the deanery of Forthric, Mr John Rutherford, provost of St Salvator's in 1560 and parson of Cults, was minister at Cults in 1563.³⁷ John Brown, styled vicar portioner of Kinghorn-Wester, was reader of Kinghorn-Wester in 1563³⁸ and was possibly the same man as the canon of Crail of that name, and Mr Alexander Wardlaw, canon of St Mary on the Rock and parson of Ballingry, was minister of Ballingry in 1561.³⁹ In the deanery of Mearns, Mr William Salmond, possibly reader of Dunnottar in 1574, was sub-dean of the collegiate church of Holy Trinity, Edinburgh.⁴⁰ In the deanery of Angus, Sir James Wight, exhorter of Strathmartin

²⁷ McRoberts, *Essays*, 133-4.

²⁸ *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, 12 vols., ed. T. Thomson and C. Innes (Edinburgh, 1814-75), iii, 72 c. 3.

²⁹ Haws, *Scottish Parish Clergy*, 91, 126, 156.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 17, 138, 179.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 151.

³² *Ibid.*, 162; *Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum*, ed. M. Livingstone and others (Edinburgh, 1908-), vi, 2532.

³³ *Ibid.*, vi, 2437.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, vi, 2608.

³⁵ Haws, *Scottish Parish Clergy*, 70.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 118, 128.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 55.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 137.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 19.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 73.

in 1563, was a former canon of Holy Trinity,⁴¹ and Mr James Fotheringham, parson of Ballumby and former canon of Fowles-Easter, was minister of Inverarity in 1563.⁴² In the deanery of Linlithgow, Mr Ninian Hamilton, exhorter of Duddingston in 1561,⁴³ and John Moubray, reader of Kirkliston in 1568-9,⁴⁴ were possibly former canons of the collegiate church of St Giles. William Barbour, exhorter at Lasswade in 1567,⁴⁵ Lancelot Gibson, reader at Glencorse after 1567,⁴⁶ and Mr Ninian Borthwick, minister of Kirknewton in 1562,⁴⁷ had been canons of the collegiate churches of Restalrig and Corstorphine respectively. In the deanery of Haddington/Lothian, Sir Thomas Dudgeon, reader at Barra in 1567;⁴⁸ James Guthrie, reader of Keith-Marischal in 1574;⁴⁹ Mr Thomas Marjoribanks, reader at Clerkington in 1574;⁵⁰ and Mr Patrick Cockburn, minister of Haddington in 1562,⁵¹ were former canons of the collegiate churches of Bothans, Guthrie, Corstorphine and Dunbar respectively. Thomas Raith, provost of Seton, which included the parsonage of Seton, was reader at Seton in 1574.⁵² In the deanery of Merse, Mr Robert Hoppringle, minister of Lennel in 1573,⁵³ and Sir John Leche, reader at Langton after 1567 and in 1574,⁵⁴ had possibly been canons of Crichton and Dumbarton respectively. In short, there could have been as many as 20 canons from collegiate churches serving in the reformed church, but further research on the collegiate churches will undoubtedly reveal additional connections.

Turning to the parochial clergy, at least four vicars in the deanery of Fife conformed and served in their own churches before 1574. Mr John Forman (Anstruther), Mr John Seton (Creich), Mr Thomas Young (Abercrombie), Mr Adam Heriot (St Andrews-Holy Trinity) and possibly Robert Smith (Dunino) served as readers in their respective churches.⁵⁵ In the deanery of Fotheric, one parson, Mr George Boswell (Auchterderran), and one vicar, Mr John Balfour (Cults), served in their respective churches; the former was first reader in 1563 and minister in 1567, and the latter was minister in 1560-3 and was found unqualified to serve as minister by Mr John Rutherford, provost of St

⁴¹ Haws, *Scottish Parish Clergy*, 229.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 19, 111.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 66, 279.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 149, 298.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 156, 254.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 99, 210, 275.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 151, 256.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 21, 267.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 117, 277.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 42, 294.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 103, 261.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 219.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 158.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 155.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 2, 11, 51, 70, 213.

Salvator's, who had him dismissed.⁵⁶ In the deanery of Gowrie, Mr John Moncrieff was vicar and exhorter of Dunbarney and its pendicles of Pottie and Moncrief in 1561.⁵⁷ In the deanery of Mearns, Mr Andrew Patrick (Arbuthnot), Mr Alexander Wylie (Conveth) and Mr William Elder (Benholm) were vicars who conformed and served in their own churches as readers in 1563.⁵⁸ In the deanery of Angus, Sir George Lyell, curate of Aberlemno, was reader there in 1563, and Mr Ninian Cook, vicar of Murroes, was reader there in 1561.⁵⁹ In the deanery of Linlithgow, Mr John Spottiswood, parson and minister of Calder-Comitis, was superintendent of Lothian, and Mr John Moubray, parson of Ecclesmachan, was minister there in 1561, while Sir John Johnston, vicar of Kinneil, was reader there in 1562, and Sir James Bishop, vicar of Ratho, was reader in 1560.⁶⁰ James Dalmahoy, canon of Cambuskenneth, was evidently serving the cure of souls at Cambuskenneth before the Reformation and conformed and served the church as exhorter in 1567.⁶¹ In the deanery of Haddington/Lothian, Mr Thomas Hepburn, parson of Oldhamstock; Andrew Simson, vicar of Bolton; and Thomas Manderson, curate of Tynninghame, were minister, exhorter and reader respectively at their own churches.⁶² In the deanery of Merse, Sir John Forest, vicar of Swinton, and Martin Rutherford, vicar of Makers-toun, were readers serving in their own churches.⁶³ In total, there were about 22 incumbent parochial clergy who conformed and served in their own cure of souls. The deaneries of Angus and Gowrie are conspicuous because of their few known conforming incumbents before the Act of Conformity in 1573 and even immediately after that date. For what was believed to be a reforming area in Scotland, it is clear that a very limited number of the identified pre-Reformation parochial clergy conformed and served in their own churches in the diocese of St Andrews.

If only a small number conformed before the Act of Conformity in 1573, there are a few other parochial incumbents who appear to have served in their own churches after 1573 and are relatively late conformers. David Donaldson (Kirkforthar), Robert Sim (Methil), Walter Muir (Torphichen), Sir John Tod (Kirknewton), Sir James Hopkirk (Carrington), George Haliburton (Gullane) and Sir John Flint (Ayton) were all serving as readers in their respective churches in 1574.⁶⁴ Moreover, although Mr Archibald Hog was presented to the parsonage of Durris in 1565, he does not appear as minister until 1574 and may have been a

⁵⁶ Haws, *Scottish Parish Clergy*, 15, 55.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 68.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 12, 24, 46.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 6, 187.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 34, 78, 140, 204, 298, 313.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 34, 264.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 27, 193, 241.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 174, 231.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 18, 39, 102, 147, 151, 178, 236.

late conformer.⁶⁵ Whether their decision to serve in the reformed church was the direct result of the Act of Conformity it is impossible to say; nevertheless, as the Act made only acceptance of the reformed Confession of Faith compulsory under the pain of deprivation for the beneficed clergy who failed to accept it, and did not make service in the reformed church compulsory for those who accepted the new religion, this could not have been their only reason.

Whereas the conformity of the above clergy can be established with certainty there are others where antecedents are not known in the pre-Reformation period although since they are found holding vicarages in conjunction with offices in the new kirk shortly after the Reformation their conformity may be postulated. John Anderson (Cleish), Sir James Simmer (Garvock) and William Hudson (Temple) were possibly pre-Reformation vicars who served in the reformed church.⁶⁶ John Pitbladdoch (Arngask) is more doubtful than the others, but it is possible that he served the pre-Reformation cure of souls and was later reader in 1563.⁶⁷

Besides those vicars and curates who served in their own churches, there were a number of others who served in the new kirk at churches other than those churches where they had previously served the cure of souls. Mr William Laing (Moneydie) was minister of Ceres in 1567.⁶⁸ Mr Walter Balfour (Luncarty, Linton) was possibly exhorter at Orwell in 1568⁶⁹ Sir David Foular (Montrose) was reader at Auldbar in 1563.⁷⁰ Sir Andrew Currie (Old Roxburgh) was reader at Bassendean.⁷¹ Sir Thomas Ker (Langton), Sir John Ramsay (Duns) and John Guthrie (Stracathro) were possibly the same as the reformed clergy of those names who were serving at Old Roxburgh, Langton and Forfar respectively.⁷² Alexander Forester, canon vicar of Kinneil, was minister at Liberton in 1562.⁷³

In addition to the parochial clergy a number of other secular clergy within the diocese can be identified and shown to have conformed and served. In the deanery of Fife, Mr Thomas Kinneir, minister of Crail, was possibly a priest and may be identified with the student of St Andrews who was at the university in 1564.⁷⁴ Mr Robert Montgomery, archdeacon of Argyll, was minister of Cupar in 1562.⁷⁵ In the deanery of Fothric, Sir Adam Angill (Inverkeithing) and John Morison (Methil) were

⁶⁵ Haws, *Scottish Parish Clergy*, 75.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 41, 42, 96, 234.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 40, 181, 287.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 163, 172, 195.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 17, 183.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 22, 193.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 74, 91, 155, 193, 226.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 140, 161.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 49, 286.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 56, 297.

chaplain and priest respectively.⁷⁶ In the deanery of Gowrie, Walter Murdoch (Cambusmichael) and Robert Rhind (Kinnoul) had been chaplains, while in the deanery of Mearns, James Simson (Inverbervie) and Robert Milne (Garvock) had been chaplain and notary public respectively, and in the deanery of Angus, David Guthrie, ex-chaplain, was reader of Lunan in 1574.⁷⁷ In the deanery of Linlithgow, John Knox (St Giles) had been chaplain and notary public of Haddington, while Sir Laurence Watson (Newton) and Sir Richard Fleming (Slamanan) were also probably chaplains.⁷⁸ In the deanery of Haddington/Lothian, Sir Thomas Cairns (Soutra), Sir Patrick Galbraith (Garvald) and Sir Michael Boncle (Innerwick) were ex-chaplains and James Murray (Cranston) was a notary public.⁷⁹ In the deanery of Merse, Sir Hugh Hudson (Whitsome), Sir John Lichtbodie (Lennel), Mr Walter Pyle (Foulden) and William Ormiston (Nenthorn) were former chaplains and priests and William Lamb (Coldingham) was notary public.⁸⁰ If an identification of the massive number of unbeneficed chaplains, priests and clerks or notaries public within this extensive diocese could be satisfactorily concluded, this list would inevitably be considerably extended.

In total, eight parsons, 18 vicars, three curates and two secular canons serving parochial cures served in their own churches after 1560. Three vicars and one curate possibly did likewise. One parson, six vicars and one curate possibly served in other churches and 20 unbeneficed chaplains, priests and clerks served in various churches throughout the diocese. Therefore approximately 63 pre-Reformation parochial incumbents and unbeneficed clergy served in the reformed church. If further evidence should confirm that any of the other readers who served in 1560-3 and whose antecedents have yet to be discovered prove to be vicars or curates at the churches where they served, then the number of parochial incumbents who conformed and served would undoubtedly reach a more credible number. As it is, it looks as if only an incredibly small minority transferred their allegiance in terms of service to the new kirk.

If few of the secular clergy in the diocese of St Andrews can be shown to have conformed and served in the reformed church the antecedents of some of the other reformed clergy can nevertheless be ascertained with some degree of certainty. From 1560 to 1574 the staff of the reformed church in the diocese consisted of approximately 400 clergymen who served as ministers, exhorters and readers at one time or another during the 14-year span. In 1563-7 there were about 108 ministers, 36 exhorters and 93 readers. In 1568-74 there were as many as 122 ministers and at

⁷⁶ Haws, *Scottish Parish Clergy*, 113, 178.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 35, 96, 112, 143, 172, 296, 306.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 190, 214, 220, 286.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 50, 96, 111, 223, 299.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 44, 93, 158, 188.

least 226 readers. The large increase in the number of readers in 1568-74 indicates the growth of the reformed ministry and the abolition of the office of exhorter shortly before 1574 as well as showing that in some areas of the diocese either the reformed movement was slow in developing or the evidence for early development is not available. Also, in comparison with other dioceses, St Andrews had a high proportion of ministers in the period of 1560-7. Naturally some of the reformed clergy served from 1560 or 1563 to 1574 in the same church, others were transferred from one church to another, and still others appear at one time and not at any of the other periods. Mobility and turnover both constitute difficulties in establishing a total, especially in the years immediately following the Reformation. Although it is not known exactly how many clergy served in 1561-2, there are figures in the *Thirds of Benefices* for the total sums paid in stipends.⁸¹ Unfortunately, while these figures give some indication of service within the diocese, the areas when taken as a whole include more than the territorial limits of the diocese of St Andrews and thus while the increase in the figures paid out for stipends from 1561 to 1562 demonstrates that there may have been an increase in the numbers of reformed clergy or an increase in the stipends of those already serving; it may have been both. Nevertheless, death which created a turnover in personnel and mobility which accounted for vacancies in an already understaffed ministry show that a vast demand must have had a supply in the early years, 1560-3, as well as in the later years when the trend was towards increasing numbers. Yet in the early years there must have been much reluctance on the part of many to join the ranks of a very questionable establishment.

The antecedents of the ministers, exhorters and readers who served in the reformed church in the above period can be most easily established by considering in the first place those clergy whose roots lie in the pre-Reformation church and, secondly, those whose careers in the church appear to have been entirely post-Reformation. The incidence of conformity among the secular clergy who served in the pre-Reformation church has been considered above, but to their numbers must be added the religious both from within and without the diocese of St Andrews who also joined the reformed ministry.⁸²

Passing from the clergy whose post-Reformation careers had their origins in the unreformed church to those whose ministry appears to have been solely post-Reformation, the university of St Andrews provides a convenient starting point because so many post-Reformation clergy can be traced back to its records. Some

⁸¹ Gordon Donaldson (ed.), *Thirds of Benefices* (Scottish History Society, 1949), 94, 152.

⁸² For details concerning the religious in the diocese see: C. Haws, "Scottish Religious Orders at the Reformation", *ante*, xvi (1966-1968), 203-224.

appear as students before 1560 but evidence for pre-Reformation connections have, as yet, not been ascertained and these sometime students will be considered for the purpose of this study along with those who have been found after 1560.⁸³ However, before examining the careers of the students who possibly served in the diocese of St Andrews, something must be said about the records of the university itself. The lists of students analysed have been extracted from the printed records of the university⁸⁴ and the acts of the Faculty of Arts.⁸⁵ The former has both the matriculation rolls as well as the graduation rolls for the period under consideration but the latter does not have the matriculation rolls and only lists the students in the Faculty of Arts who have received their baccalaureate and have in some cases also gone on to become licentates. Both sources have "yawning" gaps, especially at the critical period, 1557-62, and many names have possibly gone unrecorded because students appear in one of the sources and not the other. The mobility of the students from one university to another, the faculty records and the problem of identity of names (e.g. Hamilton, Douglas, Thomson, etc.) make the connections of some of the students with post-Reformation clergy extremely tenuous; however, on occasions there is ample evidence and many names of students can be connected with a high degree of probability with those of the reformed clergy for not only is there identity of name, but also in some cases corroboration through chronology when a student leaves or graduates from the university and a reformed clergyman appears shortly thereafter.⁸⁶

Of the 72 students who served in the reformed ministry, 46 were at the university after 1555 and evidently did not have any pre-Reformation connections with the unreformed church; however, the remaining 26 were students before 1555 and may have had some previous connections with the old church which have yet to be established. Forty-two of the 72 students were apparently qualified to serve as ministers and this number would increase if the careers of some of the readers and exhorters were followed especially after 1574 when this study terminates. This high proportion of ministers in the diocese of St Andrews indicates that a large segment of the reformed ministry was of a relatively high educational standard and that many students were coming

⁸³ Some of the former pre-1560 students who served in the reformed church possibly held positions in the unreformed church but these connections have yet to be discovered. Others were possibly schoolmasters and common laymen who decided to join the ranks of the new kirk.

⁸⁴ J. Maitland Anderson (ed.), *Early Records of the University of St Andrews* (Scottish History Society, 1926). This volume contains the graduation roll, 1413-1579, and the matriculation roll, 1473-1579.

⁸⁵ Annie I. Dunlop (ed.), *Acta Facultatis Artium Universitatis Sanctiandree, 1413-1588* (Scottish History Society, 1964).

⁸⁶ Haws, *Scottish Parish Clergy*, 250-323.

direct from the university. The former is not only in accordance with the express wishes of the *Book of Discipline* but illustrates the vital roll of the university in the formative years of the new kirk.⁸⁷ Moreover, it is noteworthy that those who attended the university after 1555 were undoubtedly younger men and it was these men who were filling the many vacancies in the reformed church. Contrary to past speculation, many of the reformed clergy who served as ministers were not pre-Reformation schoolmasters but students who were drawn to the new ministry after graduation, or perhaps even before graduation for some of the students may have only attended the university for a year or two without graduating, and later qualified to serve in the reformed church. While some of these students may have come from universities outwith the diocese or even furth of Scotland, the university of St Andrews, with its students providing personnel for the new kirk, was by far the most important institution as far as total contribution was concerned and this factor enabled the reformed church to grow sufficiently so that the ultimate success of the Reformation was realised.

The identity of the remainder of the reformed clergy cannot be easily established although apparently two pre-Reformation schoolmasters and possibly a number of laymen appear to have served in the reformed church. Sir Thomas Duncanson, schoolmaster at Stirling in 1560, was reader at Stirling-Holy Rude in 1560 and was possibly minister at Torphichen in 1565.⁸⁸ Mr John Buchan, possibly student of St Andrews in 1537-8 and schoolmaster of Ayr in 1554-5, was minister of Liff and Invergowrie in 1563.⁸⁹ Of the laymen, David Ferguson was evidently a skinner by trade before he became minister of Dunfermline in 1560.⁹⁰ William Harlaw may have been a tailor before he became minister of St Cuthbert in 1560.⁹¹ John Erskine, laird of Dun, was an early reformer and prominent layman who was educated at Aberdeen and, although previously a layman, he became superintendent of Angus in 1562.⁹² David Lindsay of Pettarlie was possibly a former layman who became minister of Aberlemno in 1563, and James Lovell, reader of Monifieth, may have been sometime burgess of Dundee.⁹³ Likewise Patrick Lyon, reader of Glamis in 1574, was son of James Lyon, burgess of Dundee, and apparently had no connection with the pre-Reformation clergy.⁹⁴ Patrick Lyon was probably just one of the many new names which appeared after 1567, for the majority of the post-Reformation

⁸⁷ Dickinson, *Knox*, ii, 283-7.

⁸⁸ Haws, *Scottish Parish Clergy*, 224, 236.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 113, 162.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 70, 270.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 214.

⁹² Donaldson, *Scottish Reformation*, 65, 127; Scott, *Fasti*, v, 387-8.

⁹³ Haws, *Scottish Parish Clergy*, 6, 181, 290.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 97, 290.

clergy after this date fail to correspond with the over 4,000 names already associated with the pre- and post-Reformation church before 1567. In the diocese of St Andrews, as elsewhere, it is impossible to discover the laymen of low rank, tailors, shoemakers, tanners or the like, whom the Jesuit de Gouda mentioned as being ministers in 1562 unless Ferguson and Harlaw are taken as the rule rather than the exception. It is more likely that of the remaining ministers, exhorters and readers who remain unidentified, a number would almost certainly be pre-Reformation chaplains, canons of collegiate churches and unbeneficed clerics whose names are legion and make connections extremely hazardous.

In the diocese of St Andrews, the antecedents of the majority of the reformed clergy have been found and a higher proportion of these known antecedents are of the clergy who served from 1560 to 1567. As has been demonstrated, these antecedents cut across the entire pre-Reformation ecclesiastical structure with a minority of both the secular and regular clergy conforming and serving in the reformed church within the diocese. These minorities plainly show that the great bulk of the pre-Reformation clergy either paid lip service to the reform movement or remained conservative. What is interesting is that a substantial number of students filled the vacancies which were created by the secular clergy who may have conformed but did not serve in the new kirk. Many of these students or, in some cases, graduates took over the charges on the deaths of the previous incumbents and were presented to the benefices. Here the overlapping of the old and the new ecclesiastical structures is clearly apparent. Although a post-Reformation cleric was performing the parochial duties, a pre-Reformation incumbent, in some cases a pluralist, was still collecting the revenues or at least two thirds of them.

In the deanery of Fife, the students of St Andrew's University and the canons of St Andrew's Priory accounted for a large number of the reformed clergy. This explains why this deanery had the highest proportion of ministers in relation to exhorters and readers than any of the other deaneries in the diocese. Also, this deanery acted as the nucleus for the propagation of reform doctrines and the placement of available personnel. The deanery of Fothric had an equal distribution of conformed secular clergy and regulars who served in its churches and these were augmented by a number of students from St Andrews. On the other hand, the deanery of Gowrie had only a few secular clergy who served and ten regulars supplemented by about five students. The deanery of Mearns had 16 readers and only four ministers from 1563 to 1567 with eight secular clergy and four regulars serving in its churches, and the large deanery of Angus had only a few secular clergy with a number of regulars and a few ex-laymen. The deanery of Linlithgow had only a few readers with approximately 21 ministers in 1563-7 and had an equal distribution of

secular clergy and regulars serving in its churches. The deaneries of Haddington/Lothian and Merse have a few recorded readers and 15 and four ministers respectively. The location of Merse partially explains the slow start of the reformed ministry in that deanery; however, in 1568-74 there were 39 readers and 11 ministers. Both deaneries had an equal number of secular clergy and regulars serving its churches, but the deanery of Haddington/Lothian had a large number of sometime students of St Andrews.

In conclusion, the diocese of St Andrews amply demonstrates a substantial continuity of personnel and subsequent research on the clergy of this diocese will undoubtedly provide further examples of continuity. Nevertheless, it is with the sometime students of St Andrews that this diocese makes its most lasting and formidable contribution to the reformed church. In addition, the Augustinian canons, especially of St Andrews, must be remembered for what was a remarkable showing of adaptability not only to conformity but to service. As a result, Fife, Angus, Haddington/Lothian and parts of Linlithgow deaneries, always considered as "hotbeds" of reform on account of the many nobles and local lairds who were in sympathy with the reform movement, can be seen to have made further significant contributions to the success of the reformed church in Scotland.